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ABSTRACT

One purpose of this paper is to clarify and sharpen categories of social reality that have great emotional and evaluation connotations and consequences. The term "ethnicity" needs clarification. It should refer to the character, style, and way of life taken in by people from their distinct culture. It is not what the naive realism of American culture makes it--an outcome or expression of biological "races." Pseudo ethnicity--that based on descent--puts the U.S. born or reared children of Puerto Rican migrants in an absurd situation. They see themselves not as Americans, but as an ethnic (culturally distinct) group, which they are not. Then, to compound the felony, they are made to believe that they are not an ethnic (culturally distinct) group in Puerto Rico, which they are. Three things can be done about this: (1) go on with the coverup which produces the pseudoethnicity, generated by both social segregation and the confusion of social segregation with cultural distinctiveness; (2) transform pseudoethnics into authentic ethnics; and/or (3) live up to the promise of the melting pot by making equal opportunity available to all. It is concluded that unless the ways in which minorities in American culture are identified change, one must argue for cultural pluralism as an escape from stigma for those whose identity or self-concept is now being negatively affected. (Author/JM)

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"The Paradox of the Unmeltable Pseudo Ethnic"

Dr. Eduardo Seda

United States, like the rest of the so-called New World is a country of immigrants. Yet in Latin America , children of immigrants are known as criollos (native born). It would not make sense to speak of Benjamin Cole, Severo Colberg, Aida Henry, Norma O'Neill, Rafael Bennet, Pietri Olms, Juan Bedinger, Carmen Gautier, Maria Mc"Allister, Hiram Bithorn, Tato Foch, Elsa Magwinoff, Lola Wiscovitch, Demetrio Brookman or our gallant national hero, Pirate Roberto Kuperstein (Cofresi) as anything else but Puerto Rican.[2] In southwestern Puerto Rico, there is a region in which surnames such as Antongiorgi, Blasini, Franceschini, Biaggi, Fraticeli, Pietri, Pietrantoni, Santini, Sambolini, Marini, Romani, Silvestrini, Buscaglia, Braschi, Brusi appear to such a degree of concentration that people sometimes label them "Corso", yet, no separate ethnic identity is implied. The same is true in the Black sectors of our population. During this last summer, I concluded a study of Loiza Aldea which supports Anthony L. La Ruffa's 1971 finding that Loiza Aldea is as Puerto Rican as any other community of Puerto Ricans anywhere else, say San German or Cabo Rojo,where the proportion of Blacks is negligible.* We mention Loiza Aldea, because it has been portrayed as Black, which it is, but then with American racistic optic, it has been epitomized as African, which it is not. There are however a number of Blacks in Puerto Rico who have begun to import and take over by transculturation the so-called "African" styles of the American Black revolution, and with them the notion that their identity is derived from "biology" and not from enculturation. A full scale transculturation of this nature will soon

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[1] Paper presented at the University Seminar on Cultural Pluralism, Columbia U.

[2] From Mexico, I could mention my friends and colleagues Guillermo Bonfil, Arturo Warman, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Soloman Nahmad Sitton, whose mexicanidad is beyond question.

* According to a scholarly account by Dr. Manuel Alvarez Nazario (1961), the non white population in the island is distributed as follows: (p. 104)

Eastern Third	63.66
Western Third	12.54
Central Coast	15.66
Central Mountain	6.20

transport to Puerto Rico the pattern of paradoxical pseudo ethnicity that prevails in the United States. What this transculturation brings into our culture is not an African identity because Africa is too rich and varied in its cultural constructions of reality. What it brings is the American racistic optic which assumes that a person's primordial identity is a derivative of his genetic "hypodescent" (Harris, 1964). On the basis of this racistic optic, an American assumes that there is an African "race", and thus it follows that there is one African culture, which is derived from that race.

The cultural construction of racistic categories with a graded escalator of colors in the Latin American social structure[1] parellels the social escalator with ethnic names in the American social structure. Social discrimination of intermediate categories in Latin America, like the ethnic escalator in the United States, generates a powerful force toward assimilation. Actually, the Ladino, Chole, or mestizo usually has a nouveau riche psychology. As far as ethnic identity is concerned, their adaptation could be labeled cultural hyperfiliation. In the case of children of Italian descent in the United States, Leonardo Covello describes this pattern of hyperfiliation which ends up in americanization:[2]

> We soon got the idea that Italian meant something inferior and a barrier was erected between children of Italian origin and their parents. This was the accepted process of americanization. We were becoming Americans by learning how to be ashamed of our parents.

Both ethnicity and color produce a continuum that generates a fragmented opposition between discrete sectors. It is attained by stigmatizing behavioral and linguistic indicators of ethnicity while placing a person's identity on the basis of "blood" or hypodescent in pseudo ethnic categories, thus generating a need for passing which takes place in behavioral "inconspicuousness" and often anglicizing of the name.

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[1] E. Seda, "Race and Racism in the Americas and in the Sciences of Culture" ms.

[2] Leonardo Covello, "The Heart is the Teacher" in Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom, New York, Ramdom House, 1970, p. 58.

The acculturation pressure for americanization in the school system is portrayed in the case of Mexican Americans by Steiner in the following way:

> Until it was repealed in the late 1960s, Section 288 of the Texas State Penal Code made it illegal for a teacher, principal, or school superintendent to teach or conduct school business in any language but English (S. Steiner; 1969).

Yet while insisting on americanization by rejecting ethnic culture, americanization in cultural terms does not imply social assimilation. Under the rule of hypodescent, a child remains "Italian", "Mexican" etc. no matter how thorough his americanization has been. Actually his ethnicity is to be a product precisely of that americanization: the more American, the more Italian, one might say in reference to Covello.

Cultural assimilation in Latin America, implies social assimilation.

No such social assimilation is implied in the United States where ancestry remains the criteria of social identity. The "unmeltable ethnics" are Americans segregated on the basis of racistic assumptions which place the identity of individuals in ancestry and not in their cultural optic and praxis. Novak has clearly shown the pattern of non acceptance that creates pseudo ethnics in the United States (Novak, 1975: 9).

> When the yound Michael Arlen replied sincerely to a schoolmaster that his nationality was English, the schoolmaster retorted, 'You couldn't be English.'

Mario Puzo describes the pseudo ethnicity of "Italians" (Puzo; 1974).

> As a child and in my adolescence, living in the heart of New York's Neapolitan ghetto, I never heard an Italian singing. None of the grown-ups I knew were charming or loving or understanding. And so later in my life when I was exposed to all the cliches of lovable Italians, singing Italians, happy-go-lucky Italians, I wondered where the hell the moviemakers and storywriters got all their ideas from.

Puzo was describing a community in the process of acculturation. He himself was already as assimilated as any WASP, yet "Italian" as a paradoxical derivation of that self-same cultural assimilation.

Paradoxical social pluralism is nothing but a social stratification system. It puts everyone in his proper place in a hierarchy; the top position reserved for WASP and waspish minorities ultimately safeguarded by racism.

"Ethnic" name categories generated by the cultural construction of social categories in the United States do not represent ethnicity in a substantive way. They emerge out of the American ethnicity to represent a social prestige escalator based on hypodescent.[1] It arises from assimilation in the American ethnicity and confuses social pluralism (which Milton Gordon (1964) calls structural pluralism) with cultural pluralism. It is thus a social pluralism that paradoxically results from assimilation in the American core culture - the American ethnicity. This is in effect the opposite of cultural pluralism. I have expressed this paradox when applied to children of Puerto Rican descent: the more 'American' they become, the more 'Puerto Rican'. Trying to extricate Puerto Ricans from this paradox has been almost hopeless, since once they incorporate American naive realism into their optic, they "see" that which is in the eyes of the beholder. Many of these New York Puerto Ricans or / New Yoricans can't even state their case in the usual counter-argument, "Who says I am not Puerto Rican", in Spanish.

In the United States, pseudo ethnicity generates a hierarchical escalator starting with wasp Anglo-Saxon and the waspish German and Scandinavians where "Irish need not apply", down to the descendants of Eastern and southern European

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[1] Cf: Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, New York: MacMillan, 1972; Sallie Teselle, ed., The Rediscovery of Ethnicity, New York; Harper Torchbooks, 1974; Colin Greer, ed., Divided Society, The Ethnic Experience in America, New York; Basic Books, 1974.

immigrants. The hierarchy has a major cleavage, that generates castelike separation between so-called White minorities and non-white minorities.[1]

From the bottom up in the non-white category, there are Blacks, native Americans and other Mongolian groups, and the Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. There are anomolous cases, which do not fit the patterns of cultural construction of reality we are describing: the Japanese, once interned in detention camps but now waspish in their praxis, and the Jews, just out of their genocidal experience in Germany, and some groups of Puerto Ricans which seem to be engaged in power operations: aloof and unconcerned about nominal status and conventional ethics Perhaps successful sectors of Mexican Americans, Blacks, and other minorities do not fit the pattern of paradoxical pseudo ethnicity.

Cultural assimilation in this caste-like, fragmented pot generates paradoxical, pseudo ethnicity among descendents of European immigrants, and perhaps a pinch of self hatred, (Kurt Lewin, 1948). . The impact of cultural assimilation among the racistically excluded outcast seems to be a massive self destructiveness. An Un-Dorian Grey definition of their identity emerges as a loathsome self-image mirrored from the American cultural looking glass which generates a massive self destructive process that attains intersubjective confirmation in the self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. The experience of these groups could probably best be described as that of an internal colony.

The internalization of the racistic optic of the American culture produces a stigmatized identity and stiffles the creative potential of racistically identified people. The consequence is a state of endo-violence reflected in high rates

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[1] The idea that Puerto Ricans are not white is a peculiarly American cultural construction of reality. The meaninglessness of this peculiar construction among Puerto Ricans is portrayed by a case of American born students at a University meeting who led by political exultation took over the meeting. When they asked "whites" to leave the room, they were shocked to discover that white Puerto Ricans were leaving the room.

of all sorts of evils. A position paper on Bilingual Education, prepared by the Board of Regents in August 1972, reports that Puerto Ricans constitute less than 10% of the New York population but contribute to 25% of its drug addicts. According to the San Juan Star, Jan. 19-20, 1976, Puerto Ricans account for 22% of deaths attributed to narcotics in New York. Our drop out rates are, according to the 1970 census, at the level of 57%. According to a report prepared by Evelina Antonetty, the rates are 87%, compared to 40% for Blacks, and 20% for so-called whites. Although over 25% of the school age population in the New York City public school system, and 60% of the school age population in the Bronx is Puerto Rican, their record of educational achievement is characterized by below grade level reading scores, increasing drop-out rates, and general academic failure. Of all the Puerto Rican students tested in 1971, 85% were reading below grade level: and 94.5% experienced moderate to severe language difficulties. In addition, 87% never reach graduation from high school. According to the above mentioned San Juan Star report, only 20% of Puerto Rican descent students graduate from high school and 1 out of 100 (1%) graduate from college. In other words, 99% of Puerto Rican students drop out at the College level, compared to 89% for the general population. Our rate of dependent children in fatherless families, our rates of low income and poverty, our rates of all indicators of despair and self destructiveness constitute an entire repertory of "confirmations of the self-fulfilling prophecy stated in the North American definition of the Puerto Rican identity.

The situation for Chicano students is quite similar to that for Puerto Ricans (Betances: 1971).

> .....Statistics from the National Committee on Mexican American education of the United States' Office of Education dramatizes well the end result of educational policy that de-educates (Steiner):
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> ..... In the Southwest, the average Chicano child has only a 7th grade education.
>
> ..... The dropout, or pushout, rate in Texas for Chicano High School students is 89% while in California 50% of Chicano High School students leave school between the 10th and 11th grade.
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> ..... Along the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, 4 out of 5 Chicano children fall 2 years behind their Anglo classmates by the 5th grade. (The City Manager of San Antonio estimates that 44.3% of the barrio residents are "functionally illiterate": 20% never went to school "at all").
>
> ..... College enrollment is infinitesimal. In California where 14% of public school students are Chicanos, less than 1% of college students at the 7 campuses of the University of California are Chicanos.

Unless one takes a racistic position as a valid explanation for this tragic situation one must seek its cause in the environmental conditioning by a cultural construction which imprints (Berne's script, 1973) on the identity of these groups the syndrome of failure.

To those who argue that the high ratio of criminality, addiction, family breakdown, and dependency among Puerto Ricans is a temporary stage and that just as the Irish, the Italians, the Greeks, the time will come when we will move out of the ghetto in the quest for the American dream, I have answered that this does not seem to me to be a realistic appraisal. The Native Americans were here before Jamestown, Black labor has been amassing wealth for everybody else including late-comers for over three centuries; the Mexican American were in the Southwest long before there was a United States.

The life of a racistically perceived people is drenched with negative value, an inversion of everything that has positive value, an American Nightmare superimposed over the American dream. Time did not solve and will not serve to awaken from the American nightmare the racistically classified people because their problem is assimilation itself. Awakening and liberation from internal colonization can be found only in the opposite of assimilation, which is cultural pluralism.

Cultural pluralism is counterposed to the melting pot theory applied to immigrant groups in the United States. During the decade of 1960, it was raised to a level of respectability by the Blacks, and later extended to other racistically stigmatized groups, such as Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. In the logic of cultural pluralism, members of ethnic groups are not placed in a stigmatized category for constructing their world with categories different from those of the dominant culture.

The benefit of cultural pluralism in education is well supported by evidence from French Canadian students, students in Mexico, and Navajo Indian students in the southwestern United States (Harvard Journal of Legislation; 1972; 265). (In the case

of the Cherokee Indians, evidence is dramatically revealing.)

> In the 19th century when the Cherokee had control over their own bilingual schools, they were 90% literate in their own language and Oklahoma Cherokees had a higher English literacy level than native English speakers in either Texas or Arknnsas. Today after almost 70 years of white control of (Schools) the Cherokee nation presents an entirely different picture. Cherokee drop-out rates in public school run as high as 75%. The median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee is only 5.5, and 40% of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate, 90% of the Cherokee families living in Adair county Oklahoma are on Welfare.

Ethnicity in cultural pluralism represents an alternate way of life unlike pseude ethnicity which is in effect a cover up of a hierarchical order. Of course it goes without saying that when this hierarchical order has the quality of a castelike stratification, for racistically differentiated groups to liberate themselves from the crippling influence of the American nightmare they must retain and/or reconstruct a true ethnicity in a cultural pluralistic societal scheme.

Like any other issue raised during the Black Revolution, pluralism was trivialized when taken over by any and all fragments of society created by permissive acriteriality, the hallmark of the populistic period just gone by. It was taken over by all forms of counter cultural exotica and mysticism commanding prestige on the grounds of particularity. The items of trivial distinction no longer arouse unconditional acceptance, and as far as cultural pluralism goes, it never really had a chance. Among those who promoted it in ethnic education programs in universities, there were many who had no serious commitment, nor the skills necessary to deal with the problem of cultural constructions of reality. In their programs, culture became sensorial elements like cod fish cakes, exotic styles of music and clothing, with no real understanding of culture as a way of life as a looking glass for reality construction. In the case of descendents of Puerto Rican parents, in the United States they adopted the American cultural optic that defines a Puerto Rican on the basis of the racistic criterion of "blood", and not on the basis of cultural and linguistic constructions of reality. Puerto Ricans were manufactured

on the grounds of hypodescent. On the basis of this American criterion, the more American they were, the more "Puerto Rican". Puerto Rican identity was defined racistically with a trivialized exotica to please touristic sensuality.

I believe this pattern describes also the Blacks, who on racistic grounds proclaimed an African identity they never seriously considered as a project for cultural construction of reality. Mexican Americans probably also fit the same pattern.

In The Labyrinth of Solitude, Octavio Paz describes the existential vacuum that pseudo ethnicity generates among Mexican Americans resulting in the Pachuco adaptation:

> Their attitude reveals an obstinate, almost fanatical will to be, but this will affirms nothing specific except their determination. It is an ambiguous one, as we will see - - not to be like those around them. The Pachuco being (an American) does not want to be a Mexican; at the same time he does not want (is not allowed) to blend into the life of North America. His whole being is sheer negative impulse, a tangle of contradictions, an enigma.

Today, most of what goes on as cultural pluralism represents a watered down version of pluralism on the basis of ethnic labels, a nominal commitment to "culture" defined in terms of trivialities, and a strain for in block suffrage based on loyalty to ethnic leaders. Thus, patronage earned on the basis of nominal ethnicity is now shared by ethnic leaders. There also have been significant gains in job opportunities previously blocked to Blacks, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans. Educational opportunities have also been opened by court decisions favoring desegregation and equal opportunities in education (1954, Brown vs. Board of Education; Title VI, 1965 Civil Rights Act; 1971, Lau vs. Nichols; 1974, Aspira vs. New York Board of Education).

Under governmental pressure, they comply with the requirement of affirmative action by hiring tokens at the lowest possible salary level with no concern for their fitness or their preparation for the job. Thus they reinforce a bigoted image, low expectation on the performance of the group and go on to "prove"

it. The rear guard of the establishment uses insidious tactics to prove their point, "joining the resistance", by turning human rights into patronage, downgrading competence and turning it into "politics", and transforming social reivindication into tokenism. Where personnel has been recruited on the basis of political expediency in violation of the criteria of competence and idoneity, the result has been haphazard improvisation that confirms the stigmatized image of the patronized people as inferior, incapable, and corrupt. Thus the power structure discredits the oppressed people by placing tokens in positions they are not qualified for and turning them into oppressors. Where the authority of the token does not match their competence, they must then resort to audacity. Racism of the oppressed joins and converges with the racism of the oppressors in one of history's greatest absurdities. A latent consequence of this absurdity is the backlash potential generated even among those most sympathetic to their cause. By pretending compassion, inverse racism shows itself in its harmful effects as a reaction formation. The racistic phobia can be discovered in the name those engaged in inverse racism give to themselves; they call themselves white liberals. A racistically constructed reality makes whiteness a condition for their "permissiveness". Everything else goes but their whiteness while the insidious monster of racism remains intact reinforced under hypocrisy compassion in a social system permeated by racism. In placing himself in stic category, the white nevermind liberal is affirming that race is indeed a relevant credential of interpersonal exchange and professional competence is irrelevant. White liberals make us think of a TV character who calls himself Beautiful. Both beauty and whiteness are in the eyes of the beholder. (For a detailed discussion of racism, see "Racism in the Americas and in the Science of Culture", mimeo). Negative racism like any other reaction formation ends up in the opposite of its intended effect. Pretended "compassion" is familiar to those who in the past

experienced this pattern of permissiveness by police in the ghetto who look the other way when violations are committed against residents of the ghetto.

Of course, incompetent personnel in positions for which they are not qualified are eager to support incompetence as a principle under the guise of anti-intellectualism and anti-"elitism" (Seda; 1975).

The damage done in the past can not be undone. The present must be dealt with in terms of justice and equality.

Where opportunities have been opened up irrespective of race, color, et ., those minority members who avail themselves of these opportunities have become role models for integrity, competence which is liberation. The road for liberation can not be acted out in the game of wooden foot (Berne). We need opportunities, not charity.

Patronizing condescension, the down grading of standards with Mickey Mouse education and two-bit tokenism cannot solve the complex problems of minority people. Tokens are granted on the basis of "activism" to feed the fires of futile, absurd, and trivial pseudo conflicts in the ghetto crabbag, not on the basis of the right to redress under justice and equality for all. Tokenism intensifies the politics of envy, absurdity, trivialization, and pseudo conflict which we have labeled, crab-pound (Requiem, 1974).

For racistically differentiated groups, the melting pot is not a place in the sun; it is a place in dingy obscurity. Racistically defined groups must seek dis-assimilation from the reality constructed by the American culture and formulate a cultural construction of reality for and of our own.

The majority must help racistically defined groups in the effort to re-discover and strengthen identity in cultural pluralism. Their contribution to this society depends on liberation from uprooted, self-hating, deteriorated categories of existence

At present, the highest rates

of socially undesirable traits are found among racial minorities as a consequence of low income, low employment opportunities; the conditions of an internal colony.[1]

Ethnicity is a term in need of clarification. It refers to the character, style, and way of life taken in by a people from their distinct culture. It is not what naive realism of the American culture makes it, - an outcome or expression of biological "races". That assumption is a component of American culture, part of the ethnicity which Americans of all classes acquire in their enculturation (see "Racism in the Americas and in the Science of Culture"). When actualized in optic and praxis, these assumptions generate categories derived from assumed ethnicity based on hypodescent, not on a distinct way of life. To comply with the self fulfilling prophecy, the pseudo ethnicity is set forth as a facade of ethnicity. These categorical aggregate domains formed on the basis of hypodescent generate naive optic which is then acted out in stereotyped self fulfilling prophecies. Thus, Irish are said to be hot tempered, Italian mercurial, German compulsive, French artistic, Jewish shrewd, Anglo Saxon reliable, few of words, action overstated, Oriental treacherous, Puerto Rican knife carrying, Blacks rhythmical, unintelligent etc.

For the U. S. born or reared children of Puerto Rican migrants, pseudo ethnicity generates absurdity as a self fulfilling prophecy. On the basis of American racistic optic, they see themselves not as Americans, but as an ethnic (culturally distinct) group which they are not. Then, to compound the felony, they are made to believe that they are not an ethnic (culturally distinct) group in Puerto Rico, which they are. When they return to Puerto Rico with the hope of finding the "home" they were denied in the United States, they suddenly find out

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[1] According to figures presented by Nathan Wright (1967), the average income of non-white families in the United States is $3,000; less than half of the average income of white families.

in despair that their dream of home has little to do with reality and that they are in fact another pariah group in the modern world. In an article in The New York Times under the title, "Returning Migrants Find Puerto Rico Inhospitable", David Vidal (Oct. 3, 1975)writes:

> To the surprise of many in this group, they must face the same problems of language, adjusting to an alien environment and a different speed of life, and rejection that they and their parents had confronted earlier on the mainland.
>
> It was this type of cultural rejection that doomed the efforts of the Young Lords party of New York to gain a foothold on the island when they came here in 1971.
>
> "They would get up at a meeting talking about independence in English, and that was like throwing cold water on the Puerto Rican audience," one spectator recalls.

According to that article, for them "home" is not Los Newyores because there they were always considered aliens in the optic of American racism. Puerto Rico is not experienced as home until their birth certificate as Puerto Ricans is changed by reverse acculturation into a Puerto Rican project. The "soothing action of time" mentionned in that article is reverse acculturation to a Puerto Rican cultural identity in which they would no longer see themselves through the looking glass of American racistic optic and praxis that declares them Puerto Ricans on the basis of hypodescent, and not on the basis of cultural identity (see Pedro Juan Soto, Hot Land, Cold Season for dramatization of this dilemma.)

Further complication of this issue arises when we consider that one of every 20 Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico is "Newyorican", a generic name applied to United States born or reared children of Puerto Rican parents. ("Los Newyores" is equally generalized for all the United States). A candid look at the student population at the University of Puerto Rico easily leads to the conclusion that they are a product of transculturation in styles of clothing, music, dancing, and many other components of their life project. Should this tendency continue at its present rate, it would be the Puerto Ricans who would have to acculturate to the Newyorican way of life since power is on that side. Awareness of choices is a

necessary condition for the exercise of freedom to choose and avert later confrontations of power.

In this paper, we hope to contribute to the clarification of alternate choices for the exercise of freedom. Choices are not as infinite as they are said to be under a phenomenological conception of reality. Choices are the outcome of historical alternatives and not of whimsical moods that generate pseudo conflict and doom all efforts in cathartic acting out. This period of history should stand out as the age of psychopathic acting out. For the exercise of positive freedom, there are three possible choices given the present state of affairs.

a) to go on with the cover up which produces the pseudo ethnicity generated in social segregation and by the confusion of the latter with cultural distinctiveness.

b) to transform pseudo ethnics into authentic ethnics.*

c) to live up to the promise of the melting pot by making the dream of equal opportunity available to all peoples irregardless of "color", "Race", national origins, religion, sex, or age.

We also hope in this paper to clarify and sharpen categories of social reality that have great emotional and evaluative surplus value. If the hope of sharpening these conceptual tools were to be attained, there would be hope of avoiding undesirable options for the future taken blindfolded or falling into the morass of confusion that leads to argument rather than to discussion. What we are saying is that cultural assimilation is almost inevitable in situations where people are placed in multilevel hierarchies competing among themselves for the "good" of power prestige and possessions.

There is confusion arising from the inconsistent use of terms. For example, Milton Gordon (1964) calls "melting" pot" what is usually known as sincretism. I prefer the term melting pot to so-called Anglo conformity, because I do not see

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* I suggest the use of environmental education programs for cultural pluralism (cf: E. Seda, "Proposal of a Program to Transform Education into Enculturation for Cultural Pluralism" in Requiem para una Cultura, 1972).

culture as a straight jacket but an option-creating process. To melt into the American culture is to conform and assimilate in a culture that has a multitude of surviving options: slave music, pizza, ravioli, spaghetti, chop suey, fritos, tacos, cuchifritos, and all that which Ralph Linton described in "The Hundred Percent American" (Linton: 1962). There is terminological confusion when cultural assimilation is not distinguished from social assimilation and social mobility. Social mobility occurs between classes. Cultural assimilation implies the end product of acculturation for first generation immigrants and enculturation for second and further generations whose reality is constructed on the basis of optic and praxis acquired in the cultural mainstream. The minority status of so-called white "ethnics" in the United States is not based on ethnicity but on hypo[illegible]. They give up their "Old World traits", their"greenhorn" language and culture to dip themselves into the melting pot in search of the American dream in a social escalator that generates a powerful strain for acculturation and cultural assimilation.

The so-called racial minorities are differentiated outgroups distressfully stigmatized by an assumed capacity to pollute the blood. For racistically perceived groups, giving up their culture to adopt the Amerccan culture by acculturation in the first generation and enculturation in the subsequent generations does not bring them nearer to acceptance. On the contrary, it makes things worse. It makes American racism an internalized component of their self concept. From the general perspective of the melting pot theory, there can be cultural assimilation without social assimilation; there can be no social assimilation without cultural assimilation. Castelike social segregation places a barrier to social mobility of the so-called racial minorities.

Unless American culture were to undergo a major change in its categories of naive realism about the identity of minorities - - one must argue for cultural pluralism - - as an escape from stigma for those whose identity or self concept is totally invaded by negative appraisals in the American culture.

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